

Message Text

PAGE 01 NATO 04630 01 OF 02 011545Z

42

ACTION EUR-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-07 H-03 INR-10 L-03

NSAE-00 NSC-10 PA-03 RSC-01 PRS-01 SPC-03 SS-15

USIA-15 ACDA-19 IO-15 NEA-10 TRSE-00 MBFR-04 SAJ-01

DRC-01 EURE-00 AF-10 EA-11 ARA-16 NIC-01 SCEM-02 EB-11

INT-08 CU-04 AID-20 COME-00 FRB-02 XMB-07 OPIC-12

CIEP-02 LAB-06 SIL-01 OMB-01 STR-08 CEA-02 EPA-04

SCI-06 CEQ-02 /283 W

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P 011430Z OCT 73

FM USMISSION NATO

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 1863

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 USNATO 4630

E.O. 11652: GDS, 12-31-79

TAGS: PFOR, NATO

SUBJECT: NON-ALIGNED CONFERENCE, ALGIERS

REF: USNATO 4594

FOLLOWING IS ENGLISH LANGUAGE TEXT OF DRAFT POLAD CHAIRMAN'S
PAPER ON THE CONFERENCE OF NON-ALIGNED COUNTRIES.

BEGIN TEXT:

CONFERENCE OF NON-ALIGNED COUNTRIES

1. ALL IN ALL, THE HOST COUNTRY AND THE PARTICIPANTS
WOULD BE JUSTIFIED IN CONSIDERING THE CONFERENCE OF NON-ALIGNED
COUNTRIES WHICH HAS JUST ENDED IN ALGIERS TO HAVE BEEN A
SUCCESS. COMPARED WITH EARLIER ONES, THIS SUMMIT MEETING
PROVED LESS FAVOURABLE TO THE SOVIET UNION THAN THE LATTER WOULD
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PAGE 02 NATO 04630 01 OF 02 011545Z

HAVE LIKED. ON THE OTHER HAND, MOST OF THE WESTERN COUNTRIES
GOT OFF MORE LIGHTLY THAN THEY MIGHT HAVE EXPECTED, WHILE THE
CHINESE HAD THE SATISFACTION OF SEEING SOME OF THEIR MAIN
PROPAGANDA THEMES TAKEN UP BY THE THIRD WORLD AS A WHOLE.

2. THE ALGERIAN GOVERNMENT PROVED A GOOD HOST AND THE DISCUSSIONS WERE EFFICIENTLY ORGANIZED. THE ALGERIANS WERE ABLE TO PROPOUND THEIR IDEAS, PLAY A LEADING ROLE IN THE DRAFTING OF THE RESOLUTIONS ADOPTED AND OBTAIN THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A CO-ORDINATING COMMITTEE UNDER THEIR CHAIRMANSHIP, ALTHOUGH THEY WERE DISAPPOINTED IN THEIR HOPE OF SETTING UP A PERMANENT SECRETARIAT IN ALGIERS. AFTER INDIA, EGYPT AND YUGOSLAVIA, ALGERIA HAS THEREFORE NOW EMERGED AS A LEADING FIGURE IN THE THIRD WORLD.

3. MORE THAN 75 COUNTRIES, OR ABOUT TWO-THIRDS OF THE UNITED NATIONS MEMBERSHIP, TOOK PART IN THE SUMMIT CONFERENCE. THIS IS A VERY HIGH FIGURE, TO WHICH MUST BE ADDED THE OBSERVERS AND GUESTS. FOR THE FIRST TIME, A LARGE NUMBER OF LATIN AMERICAN COUNTRIES, WHICH PREVIOUSLY HAD OBSERVER STATUS, TOOK PART IN THE DISCUSSIONS. THIS HELPED TO UNDERLINE THE VIRTUALLY WORLD-WIDE DIMENSION OF A CONFERENCE WHICH BROUGHT TOGETHER ALMOST THE WHOLE OF THE THIRD WORLD. WITH A GATHERING OF THIS SIZE, AN ENORMOUS DISPARITY BETWEEN THE PARTICIPANTS WAS TO BE EXPECTED. THERE IS, AFTER ALL, LITTLE IN COMMON BETWEEN INDIA AND MALTA, SAUDI ARABIA AND CUBA, THE RICH OIL EMIRATES AND THE POOR AFRICAN REPUBLICS. THIS SITUATION LED TO WHAT WERE SOMETIMES VIOLENT CLASHES, FOR INSTANCE BETWEEN COL. GADAFY AND FIDEL CASTRO. HOWEVER, SPLIT WAS AVOIDED AND THE SUMMIT WAS ABLE TO AGREE ON A NUMBER OF DECLARATIONS.

4. THE MAIN PROBLEM FACING THE DELEGATES WAS TO DETERMINE WHAT HAD BROUGHT THEM TOGETHER; IN OTHER WORDS, TO HAMMER OUT A DEFINITION OF NON-ALIGNMENT. THEY WERE NOT ALTOGETHER SUCCESSFUL IN DOING THIS. THE FORMER YARDSTICKS NO LONGER APPLY; THE OLD ANTI-COLONIALIST FLAME, WHICH WAS INSTRUMENTAL IN FORGING UNITY AT BANDUNG, HAS DIED OUT FOR LACK OF COLONIES; NEUTRALISM, THE CLASSICAL FORM OF NON-ALIGNMENT WHICH ENABLED NEHRU AND NASSER TO INDULGE IN SOME SKILLFUL HORSE-DEALING BETWEEN THE SOVIET UNION AND THE UNITED STATES, HAS BECOME INEFFECTIVE WITH THE GRADUAL RAPPROCHEMENT BETWEEN

PAGE 03 NATO 04630 01 OF 02 011545Z

CONFIDENTIAL

THE TWO SUPER-POWERS. NOR COULD THE PROBLEM BE SEEN IN STRAIGHTFORWARD TERMS OF RICH VERSUS POOR, AS SOME OF THE COUNTRIES TAKING PART IN THE CONFERENCE, SUCH AS LIBYA, KUWAIT OR SAUDI ARABIA, ARE FABULOUSLY RICH.

5. NEVERTHELESS, IT WAS BY CONTRASTING NORTH AND SOUTH, THE RICH AND POWERFUL AND THE POOR AND OPPRESSED, THAT PRESIDENT BOUMEDIENNE SOUGHT TO DISTINGUISH BETWEEN THE NON-ALIGNED COUNTRIES ON THE ONE HAND AND THE CAPITALIST AND COMMUNIST GREAT POWERS WITH THEIR ALLIES ON THE OTHER. ACCORDING TO THE ALGERIAN PRESIDENT, THE COUNTRIES TAKING PART IN THE CONFERENCE WERE THOSE FOR WHICH THE PRESENT WORLD ORDER MEANT INJUSTICE AND HUMILIATION; THEY CONTRIBUTED TO THE DEVELOPMENT

OF THE RICH COUNTRIES BUT DID NOT GET A FAIR RETURN; DECISIONS CONCERNING THEM WERE TAKEN BY THE GREAT POWERS OVER THEIR HEADS.

6. THIS WAY OF LOOKING AT THINGS, WHICH DISREGARDED THE TRADITIONAL DIVISION OF THE WORLD INTO "CAPITALIST OPPRESSORS" AND "SOCIALIST FRIENDS OF THE THIRD WORLD", WAS OBVIOUSLY NOT TO THE LIKING OF THE SOVIET UNION. THE POINTED AND CLUMSY WAY IN WHICH MOSCOW REPEATEDLY URGED CAUTION WAS RESENTED BY COUNTRIES WHICH ARE HIGHLY SENSITIVE TO ANY HINT OF PRESSURE. HOWEVER, THE SOVIET UNION STILL HAD STRONG SUPPORTERS AMONG THE NON-ALIGNED COUNTRIES, NOTABLY IN THE PERSON OF MR. FIDEL CASTRO, WHILE THE UNITED STATES WAS DEFENDED BY MR. MOBUTO, AND COL. GADAFY WAS AN UNCOMPROMISING ADVOCATE OF ABSOLUTE NON-ALIGNMENT. IN THE FACE OF THESE CONFLICTING ATTITUDES, ALGERIA WAS UNABLE TO SECURE THE INCLUSION OF ITS ARGUMENTS IN THE FINAL DECLARATIONS OF THE CONFERENCE, ALTHOUGH THE LATTER DO CONTAIN A PASSAGE CONDEMNING "IMPERIALISM IN ALL ITS FORMS".

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PAGE 01 NATO 04630 02 OF 02 011547Z

42

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P 011430Z OCT 73

FM USMISSION NATO

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 USNATO 4630

7. IT WAS HARDLY TO BE EXPECTED THAT SUCH A HETEROGENEOUS GATHERING WOULD PRODUCE DOWN-TO-EARTH RESOLUTIONS, AND THOSE ON THE NEAR EAST, LATIN AMERICA, THE LIBERATION MOVEMENTS AND INDO-CHINA DO NOT BREAK ANY NEW GROUND. IT WOULD SEEM THAT THE ONLY IMMEDIATE RESULTS ARE THE BREAKING-OFF OF RELATIONS BETWEEN CUBA AND ISRAEL AND THE FURTHER ISOLATION OF THE LATTER, WHICH NOW SEEMS TO HAVE LOST MOST OF ITS SUPPORT IN AFRICA. IN THE ECONOMIC SPHERE,

THE DECISION TO SET UP AN ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT AND SOLIDARITY FUND OPEN TO ALL THE NON-ALIGNED COUNTRIES, FOR THE PURPOSE OF PROMOTING INVESTMENT AND FINANCING DEVELOPMENT PROJECTS AND TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE, MAY HAVE IMPORTANT LONG-TERM CONSEQUENCES IF THE FUND SUCCEEDS IN COLLECTING MONEY FROM THE OIL STATES AND USES IT FOR DEVELOPMENT WORK IN THE POOREST COUNTRIES. THERE IS, HOWEVER, REASON TO DOUBT WHETHER THE SCHEME WILL GET OFF THE GROUND.

8. WHAT REALLY EMERGES FROM THIS CONFERENCE IS A NEW AWARENESS BY
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PAGE 02 NATO 04630 02 OF 02 011547Z

THE THIRD WORLD, AT A TIME OF RAPPROCHMENT BETWEEN THE TWO BLOCS, AND A REAFFIRMATION OF THE WILL OF THE PARTICIPANTS TO TAKE CONTROL OF INDIGENOUS NATURAL RESOURCES AND THEIR DEVELOPMENT IN THE INTERESTS OF THEIR PEOPLES, TO PROTECT THEIR IDENTITY, TO RECOVER AND ENRICH THEIR CULTURAL HERITAGE AND TO ASSERT THEIR INDEPENDENCE IN THE EFFECTIVE EXERCISE OF NATIONAL SOVEREIGNTY AGAINST ANY FORM OF HEGEMONY, I.E. THE REJECTION OF ANY STATE OF SUBORDINATION AND DEPENDENCE. THIS COMMON SENSE OF AWARENESS DOES NOT, OF COURSE, REMOVE THE DIVISIONS CREATED BY CONFLICTING INTERESTS AND OPPOSING IDEOLOGIES AND IT IS EASY TO UNDERSTAND WHAT COL. GADAFY MEANT WHEN HE SAID, IN A MOMENT OF DISILLUSION, THAT HE WOULD THINK HIMSELF LUCKY IF AT THE NEXT SESSION OF THE UNITED NATIONS THE NON-ALIGNED COUNTRIES SUCCEEDED, NOT IN PRESENTING A UNITED FRONT, BUT IN MERELY AVOIDING AN OPEN CLASH.

9. THE FOREGOING CONSIDERATIONS SUGGEST THAT IT IS THE CHINESE WHO HAVE PROFITED MOST FROM THE ALGIERS CONFERENCE. APART FROM WHAT PRINCE SIHANOUK HAD TO SAY, THERE WAS LITTLE MENTION OF CHINA DURING THE DISCUSSIONS. CHINESE INTERVENTION IN THE PREPARATION OF THE CONFERENCE AND THE DISCUSSIONS APPEARS TO HAVE BEEN UNOBTUSIVE. BUT THE IDEA OF THE NORTH-SOUTH DIVISION OF THE WORLD INTO RICH AND POOR AND THE THEORY THAT IN PRACTICE ALL THE GREAT POWERS GANG UP AGAINST THE THIRD WORLD, ARE CHINESE ARGUMENTS AND THE SOVIET UNION IS WELL AWARE OF THIS.

10. BY REMAINING IN THE BACKGROUND AND, DESPITE ITS SIZE, DISCLAIMING ANY GREAT POWER ROLE, CHINA COULD THUS ONE DAY EMERGE AS THE LEADER OF WHAT MAY BECOME AN "ASSOCIATION" OF NON-ALIGNED COUNTRIES, TO WHICH IT COULD BRING, IF NOT A CHALLENGEABLE AND CHALLENGED IDEOLOGICAL AND ECONOMIC BLUEPRINT, THEN AT LEAST THE WEIGHT OF ITS POWER AND PRESTIGE.

11. FROM THE SOVIET POINT OF VIEW, HOWEVER, THE RESULTS OF THE ALGIERS CONFERENCE ARE NOT VERY ENCOURAGING. ALTHOUGH IT STILL ENJOYS STRONG SUPPORT, THE COMMUNIST WORLD NO LONGER APPEARS AS THE NATURAL ALLY OF THE THIRD WORLD AGAINST THE CAPITALIST COUNTRIES, AND EVEN IF THE ALGERIAN CONCEPT OF A NORTH-SOUTH DIVISION OF THE WORLD AS OPPOSED TO THE EAST-WEST DIVISION DID NOT RECEIVE UNANIMOUS SUPPORT, IT WAS INDEED EXTENSIVELY AIRED. THE HEAVY-HANDED AND FRUITLESS PRESSURE BROUGHT TO BEAR ON THE

PARTICIPANTS MUST HAVE CONVINCED THEM THAT THE SOVIET UNION WAS
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PAGE 03 NATO 04630 02 OF 02 011547Z

USING GREAT POWER TACTICS TOWARDS THEM. IN THIS CONNECTION,
THE ATTITUDE OF THE SOVIET PRESS IS MOST REVEALING. BEFORE THE
OPENING OF THE CONFERENCE, IT CARRIED FLATTERING COMMENTARIES
ACCOMPANIED BY CRITICISMS OF THE CHINESE ARGUMENTS. HOWEVER,
THIS SOON GAVE WAY TO BRIEF, AND SOMETIMES CRITICAL, REPORTS OF
THE DISCUSSIONS. FIDEL CASTRO ALONE RECEIVED WARM PRAISE.

12. NEVERTHELESS, THE GENERAL ATMOSPHERE IS STILL MORE FAVOURABLE
TO THE COMMUNIST COUNTRIES THAN TO THE WEST, ALTHOUGH THE LATTER
CAN FIND SOME GROUNDS FOR SATISFACTION IN THE TREND TOWARDS AN
EROSION OF SOVIET BLOC INFLUENCE AND STANDING IN THE THIRD WORLD.
WHILE IT IS TRUE THAT THE UNITED STATES COMES IN FOR SOME
VIOLENT ATTACKS IN THE FINAL RESOLUTIONS, CRITICISMS AGAINST THE
OTHER WESTERN COUNTRIES, IN CONNECTION WITH FRENCH NUCLEAR TESTS,
PORTUGUESE POLICY IN AFRICA, OR THE AID THAT PORTUGAL RECEIVES
"FROM CERTAIN NATO COUNTRIES", WAS MODERATE IN TONE. IT IS WORTH
NOTING THAT JAPAN - PERHAPS BECAUSE IT IS A NON-WHITE COUNTRY?
- WAS NOT CRITICISED AT ALL. IT IS IN THE ECONOMIC SPHERE THAT
THE RESULTS OF THE ALGIERS SUMMIT MAY PROVE OF MOST CONCERN TO
THE WEST IN THE LONG RUN. ALTHOUGH IT IS UNDERSTANDABLE THAT
THE DEVELOPING COUNTRIES SHOULD WANT TO TAKE OVER CONTROL OF
THE DEVELOPMENT OF THEIR NATURAL RESOURCES, THIS MAY HAVE A
SERIOUS EFFECT ON WESTERN ECONOMIES IN THE FUTURE. EVEN ALLOWING
FOR THE DOSE OF RHETORIC INEVITABLE IN SUCH A GATHERING, THE
UNCOMPROMISING TONE OF THE RESOLUTIONS ADOPTED IS DISQUIETING
WHEN THEY INVOLVE THE REJECTION OF ANY FORM OF ECONOMIC CO-
OPERATION WITH THE WEST, THE REFUSAL TO PARTICIPATE IN A POLICY
FOR THE PROTECTION OF THE ENVIRONMENT - ON THE GROUNDS THAT THIS
IS AN ATTEMPT BY THE RICH COUNTRIES TO HAMPER THE DEVELOPMENT OF
THE THIRD WORLD - OR TAKE UP RADICAL POSITIONS ON MARITIME LAW.
IT SHOULD BE MENTIONED THAT THE EXTREMISM OF SOME OF THE SPEECHES
WAS NOT TO THE LIKING OF A FEW OF THE MORE MODERATE PARTICIPANTS.

END TEXT.

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